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691 (538) prefer a complaint to a Magistrate, it is as if you had put poison into your adversary's food." But Mr. Grigg writes,* "either the terrors of the Sirkar are not what they were, or this precept is much disregarded, for the Court-house at Ootacamund is constantly thronged with Badagas, and they are now very much given to litigation."

•782 I gather from the notes, which Bishop Whitehead has kindly placed at my disposal, that "when the Badagas wish to take a very solemn oath, they go to the temple of Māriamma at Sigūr, and, after bathing in the stream and putting on only one cloth, offer fruits, cocoanuts, etc., and kill a sheep or fowl. They put the head of the animal on the step of the shrine, and make a line on the ground just in front of it. The person who is taking the oath then walks from seven feet off in seven steps, putting one foot immediately in front of the other, up to the line, crosses it, goes inside the shrine, and puts out a lamp that is burning in front of the image. If the oath is true, the man will walk without any difficulty straight to the shrine. But, if the oath is not true, his eyes will be blinded, and he will not be able to walk straight to the shrine, or see the lamp. It is a common saying among Badagas, when a man tells lies, 'Will you go to Sigūr, and take an oath?' Oaths are taken in much the same way at the temple of Māriamma at Ootacamund. When a Hindu gives evidence in the Court at Ootacamund, he is often asked by the Judge whether he will take an oath at the Māriamma temple. If he agrees, he is sent off to the temple with a Court official. The party for whom he gives evidence supplies a goat or sheep, which is killed

* Manual of the Nilagiri district,

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782 at the temple, the head and carcase being placed in front
(784) of the image. The witness steps over the carcase, and this forms the oath. If the evidence is false, it is believed that some evil will happen to him."

101 114 The name Badaga or Vadugan means northerner, and the Badagas are believed to be descended from Canarese colonists from the Mysore country, who migrated to the Nīlgiris three centuries ago owing to famine, political 141 turmoil, or local oppression in their own country. It is 144 worthy of notice, in this connection, that the head of the Badagas, like that of the Todas and Kotas, is dolichocephalic, and not of the mesaticephalic or sub-brachycephalic type, which prevails throughout Mysore, as in other Canarese areas.

	Average.		
	Cephalic length. cm.	Cephalic breadth. cm.	Cephalic index.
Badaga ...	18·9	13·6	71·7
Toda ...	19·4	14·2	73·3
Kota ...	19·2	14·3	74·1

Of the Mysorean heads, the following are a few typical examples :—

	Average.		
	Cephalic length. cm.	Cephalic breadth. cm.	Cephalic index.
Ganiga ...	18·3	14·3	77·6
Bēdar ...	18·3	14·3	77·7
Holeya ...	17·9	14·1	79·1
Mandya Brahman	18·3	14·8	80·2
Vakkaliga ...	17·7	14·5	81·7

539 Concerning the origin of the Badagas, the following legend is current. Seven brothers and their sisters were living on the Talamalai hills. A Muhammadan

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neighbourhood of these cromlechs for their temples, as for example, at Mēlūr, Kakūsi, H'laiuru, Tudūr, and Jakatāda.

It is recorded *, in connection with the legends of the Badagas, that "in the heart of the Banagudi shōla, not far from the Doddūru group of cromlechs, is an odd little shrine to Karairāya, consisting of a ruined stone hut surrounded by a low wall, within which are a tiny cromlech, some sacred water-worn stones, and sundry little pottery images representing a tiger, a mounted man, and some dogs. These keep in memory, it is said, a Badaga who was slain in combat with a tiger; and annually a festival is held, at which new images are placed there, and vows are paid. A Kurumba makes fire by friction and burns incense, throws sanctified water over the numerous goats brought to be sacrificed, to see if they will shiver in the manner always held necessary in sacrificial victims, and then slays, one after the other, those which have shown themselves duly qualified. Hulikal Drūg, usually known as the Drūg, is a precipitous bluff at the very end of the range which borders on the south the great ravine which runs up to Coonoor. It is named from the neighbouring village of Hulikal, or tiger's stone, and the story goes that this latter is so called because in it a Badaga killed a notorious man-eater which had long been the terror of the country side. The spot where the beast was buried is shown near the Pillaiyar temple to the south of Hulikal village, and is marked by three stones. Burton says there used formerly to be a stone image of the slain tiger thereabouts. Some two miles south-east of Kūnakarai in a place known as Kōttai-hāda, or the fort flat, lie

* Gazetteer of the Nilgiris.

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kallu. There is, further, a platform, made of bricks and mud, called mandhe kallu, whereon the Badagas, when not working, sit at ease. In their folk-tales men seated thereon are made to give information concerning the approach of strangers to the village. Strangers, who are not Badagas, are called Holeya. The Rev. G. Richter gives * Badaga Holeya as a division of the lowly Holeyas, who came to Coorg from the Mysore country. In front of the houses, the operations of drying and threshing grain are carried out. The cattle are kept in stone-kraals, or covered sheds close to the habitations, and the litter is kept till it is knee or waist deep, and then carried away as manure for the Badaga's land, or planters' estates.

"Nobody," it has been said, † "can beat the Badaga at making mother earth produce to her utmost capacity, unless it be a Chinese gardener. To-day we see a portion of the hill side covered with rocks and boulders. The Badagas become possessed of this scene of chaos, and turn out into the place in hundreds, reducing it, in a few weeks, to neat order. The unwieldy boulders, having been rolled aside, serve their purpose by being turned into a wall to keep out cattle, etc. The soil is pounded and worried until it becomes amenable to reason, and next we see a green crop running in waves over the surface. The Badagas are the most progressive of all the hill tribes, and always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society."

Writing in 1832, Harkness states ‡ that "on leaving his house in the morning the Burgher pays his adoration

* Manual of Coorg. † Pioneer, 4th October 1907.

‡ Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills.

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512 to the god of day, proceeds to the tu-el or yard, in
•782 which the cattle have been confined, and, again addres-
sing the sun as the emblem of Siva, asks his blessing,
(233) and liberates the herd. He allows the cattle to stray about in the neighbourhood of the village, on a piece of ground which is always kept for this purpose, and, having performed his morning ablutions, commences the milking. This is also preceded by further salutations and praises to the sun. On entering the house in the evening, the Burgher addresses the lamp, now the only light, or visible emblem of the deity. 'Thou, creator of this and of all worlds, the greatest of the great, who art with us, as well in the mountain as in the wilderness, who keepeth the wreaths that adorn the head from fading, who guardeth the foot from the thorn, God, among a hundred, may we be prosperous.'"

241 The Badaga understands the rotation of crops well.
242 On his land he cultivates bearded wheat (beer ganji), barley, onions, garlic, potatoes, kīrē (*Amarantus*), sāmai (*Panicum miliare*), tenai (*Setaria italica*), etc.

562 "Among the Badagas," Mr. Natesa Sastri writes, "the position of the women is somewhat different from
(462) what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has a few acres to cultivate, but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the out-door farm work, while he is engaged otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga, therefore, his
(465) wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male
(464) Badaga earns merely three annas. A Badaga woman, who has not her own acres to cultivate, finds work on
(262) some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and family, and is quite content with the coarsest food—the korali (*Setaria italica*) flour—leaving the

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852 (868) sitting down, milks a small quantity into the honē. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking, and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the honē is previously filled almost to the brim. The boy takes the vessel filled with milk into his house, and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken up on himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk in the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly, and bless him, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes, and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this, the boy enters the milk-house (hāgōttu), and places milk in his honē there. From this moment, and all through his life, he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony."

234 788 (784) A cow or buffalo, which has calved for the first time, has to be treated in a special manner. For three or five days it is not milked. A boy is then selected to milk it. He must not sleep on a mat, or wear a turban, and, instead of tying his cloth round his waist, must wear it loosely over his body. Meat is forbidden, and he must avoid, and not speak to polluting classes, such as Irulas and Kotas, and menstruating women. On the (783) (824) day appointed for milking the animal, the boy bathes, and proceeds to milk it into a new honē purified by smearing a paste of *Meliosma* (tūd) leaves and bark over it, and heating it over a fire. The milk is taken to •782 a stream, where three cups are made of *Argyreia* (mīnige) 788 leaves, into which a small quantity of the milk is placed. (234) The cups are then put in the water. The remainder of the milk in the honē is also poured into the stream. In some places, especially where a Mādeswara temple is

782 close at hand, the milk is taken to the temple, and given
788 to the pūjāri. With a portion of the milk some plantain fruits are made into a pulp, and given to an Udaya, who
264 throws them into a stream. The boy is treated with some respect by his family during the period when he milks the animal, and is given food first. This he must eat off a plate made of *Argyreia*, or plantain leaves.

361 Besides the hāgōttu within the house, the Badagas have, at certain places, separate dairy-houses near a temple dedicated to Heththeswāmi, of which the one at Bairaganni (or Bērganni) appears to be the most im-
793 portant. The dairy pūjāri is here, like the Toda palol, a celibate. In 1905, he was a young lad, whom my
123 Brāhman assistant set forth to photograph. He was, however, met at a distance from the village by a headman, who assured him that he could not take the photograph without the sanction of fifteen villages. The pūjāri is not allowed to wander freely about the village, or talk to grown-up women. He cooks his own food within the temple grounds, and wears his cloth thrown loosely over his body. Once a year, on the occasion of a festival, he is presented with new cloths and turban, which alone he may wear. He must be a strict vege-
787 tarian. A desire to marry and abandon the priesthood is believed to be conveyed in dreams, or through one inspired. Before leaving the temple service, he must train his successor in the duties, and retires with the gains acquired by the sale of the products of the herd
778 and temple offerings. The village of Bairaganni is regarded as sacred, and possesses no holagudi (menstrual hut).

782 Bishop Whitehead adds that "buffaloes are given as offerings to the temple at Bairaganni, and become the property of the pūjāri, who milks them, and uses the

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the neighbourhood of Kotagiri have their Hiriya Udaya temple at Tāndanād, and Mahālingaswāmi temple at Kannērmukku. This Devvē festival, which should on no account be pronounced duvve, which means burning-ground, is celebrated at one place, whither the Badagas from other villages proceed, to take part in it. About midday, some Badagas and the temple pūjāri go from the temple of Hiriya Udaya to that of Mahālingaswāmi. The procession is usually headed by a Kurumba, who scatters fragments of tūd bark and wood as he goes on his way. The pūjāri takes with him the materials necessary for doing pūja, and, after worshipping Mahālingaswāmi, the party return to the Hiriya Udaya temple, where milk and cooked rice are offered to the various gods within the temple precincts. On the following day, all assemble at the temple, and a Kurumba brings a few sheaves of *Setaria italica*, and ties them to a stone set up at the main entrance. After this, pūja is done, and the people offer cocoanuts to the god. Later on, all the women of the Madhave sept, who have given birth to a first-born child, come, dressed up in holiday attire, with their babies, to the temple. On this day they wear a special nose ornament, called elemukkuththi, which is only worn on one other occasion, at the funeral of a husband. The women do pūja to Hiriya Udaya, and the pūjāri gives them a small quantity of rice on mīnige (*Argyreia*) leaves. After eating this, they leave the temple in a line, and wash their hands with water given to them by the pūjāri. This ceremonial, performed by women of the Madhave sept, is called Mandē-dhanda. As soon as the Devvē festival is concluded, the reaping of the crop commences, and a measure or two of grain from the crop gathered on the first day, called nīsal, is set apart for the Mahālingaswāmi temple.

The most important gods of the Badagas are Heththeswāmi, Mahālingaswāmi, Hiriya Udaya, Mādeswara, Mānkāli, Jadeswāmi, and Nīlgiri Rangaswāmi. And at the present day, some Badagas proceed to the plains, to worship at the Saivite temple at Karamadai in Coimbatore, or at Nanjangōd in Mysore.

The festival in honour of Heththeswāmi is celebrated in the month of January at Baireganni. It is sometimes called ermathohabba, as, with it, ploughing operations cease. It always commences on a Monday, and usually lasts eight days. A Sēdan or Dēvānga weaver comes with his portable hand-loom, and sufficient thread for weaving a dhubati (coarse cloth) and turban. At Baireganni there is a special house, in which these articles are woven. But, at other places where the festival is observed, the Badagas go to the weaver's village to fetch the required cloths. Early on the second morning of the festival, some of the more respected Badagas and the weaver proceed to the weaving house after bathing. The weaver sets up his loom, and worships it by offering incense, and other things. The Badagas give him a new cloth, and a small sum of money, and ask him to weave a dhubati and two kachches (narrow strips of cloth). Daily, throughout the festival, the Badagas collect near the temple, and indulge in music and songs. Until the last day, they are not permitted to set eyes on the god Heththeswāmi. On the morning of the last day, the pūjāri, accompanied by all the Badagas, takes the newly woven cloths to a stream, in which they are washed. When they are dry, all proceed to the temple, where the idol is dressed up in them, and all, on this occasion only, are allowed to look at it. Devotees pay a small offering of money, which is placed on a tray near the idol. The crowd begins to disperse in

796 the afternoon, and, on their way back to their villages, the wants of the travellers are attended to by people posted at intervals with coffee, fruit, and other articles of food. If the Badagas have to go to a weaver's village for the cloths, the weaver is, when the order is given for them, presented with four annas, after he has bathed. When handing the money to him, the Badagas bawl out "This is the fee for making the cloths to be worn by Heththe Iramāsthi and Parasakti Parvati." On the last day of the festival, the cloths are washed, and one of them is made to represent an idol, which is decorated (782) with waist and neck ornaments, and an umbrella. All prostrate themselves before it, and make offerings of money. Fruits and other things are then offered to Heththeswāmi and some recite the following prayer. "May all good acts be remembered, and all bad ones be forgotten. Though there may be a thousand and one sins, may I reach the feet of God."

The following further information in connection with the Baireganni festival is given by Bishop Whitehead. "The people from other villages offer money, rice, fruits, umbrellas of gold or silver for the goddess, cloths, and buffaloes. The buffaloes are never killed, but remain as the property of the temple. The pūjāri calls the representatives of one village, and tells them what Hetheswāmi says to him, *e.g.*, 'This year you will have good [or bad] crops; cholera or small-pox, good [or bad] rain, (782) etc.' As the people present their offerings, they prostrate themselves, kneeling down and touching the ground with their foreheads, and the pūjāri gives them some flowers, which they wear in their hair. The people and the pūjāri play on the kombu [horn], and ring bells (535) while the offerings are being made. After the offerings have finished, all the men dance, in two companies, in

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372 which each end is pulled alternately. The horizontal block is pressed firmly on the ground by the toes of a man, who presses a half cocoanut shell down on the top of the vertical stick, so as to force it down into the socket. A Badaga, who failed in an attempt to demonstrate the making of fire by this method, gave as an excuse that he was under worldly pollution, from which he would be free at the time of the fire-walking ceremony. Though the Badagas make fire by friction, reference is made in their folk legends, not to this mode of obtaining fire, but to chakkamukki (flint and steel), which is repeatedly referred 789 to in connection with cremation. After the milk boiling 796 ceremonial, the pūjāri, tying bells on his legs, approaches the fire pit, carrying milk freshly drawn from a cow, 787 which has calved for the first time, and flowers of *Rhododendron arboreum*, *Leucas aspera*, or jasmine. After doing pūja, he throws the flowers on the embers, and they should remain unscorched for a few seconds. He then pours some of the milk over the embers, and no hissing sound shoud be produced. The omens being propitious, he walks over the glowing embers, followed by an Udaya, and the crowd of celebrants, who, before going through the ordeal, count the hairs on their feet. If any are singed, it is a sign of approaching ill fortune, 789 or even death. In an account of the fire-walking cere- 796 mony, in 1902, it is noted that "the Badagas strongly repudiate the insinuation of preparing their feet to face (782) the fire ordeal. It is done to propitiate Jeddayswāmi, to whom vows are invoked, in token of which they grow one twist or plait of hair, which is treasured for years, and finally cut off as an offering to Jeddayswāmi. (177) Numbers of Chettis were catering to the crowd, offering their wares, bangles, gay-coloured handkerchiefs, as well as edibles. The Kotas supplied the music, and an

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789 twice more. A general feast closes the ceremony, and
796 next day the first ploughings are done, the Kurumba
sowing the first seeds, and the priests the next lot.
(241) Finally, a net is brought. The priest of the temple,
standing over it, puts up prayers for a favourable agricul-
796 tural season; two fowls are thrown into it, and a pretence
• 782 is made of spearing them; and then it is taken and put
across some game path, and some wild animal (a sāmbhar
deer if possible) is driven into it, slain, and divided
among the villagers. This same custom of annually
killing a sāmbhar is also observed at other villages on
the plateau, and in 1883 and 1894 special orders were
passed to permit of its being done during the close
789 season. Latterly, disputes about precedence in the matter
796 of walking through the fire at Mēlūr have been carried
as far as the civil courts, and the two factions celebrate
(518) the festival separately in alternate years. A fire-walking
ceremony also takes place annually at the Jadayasvāmi
temple in Jakkanēri under the auspices of a Sivāchāri
(231) Badaga. It seems to have originally had some connec-
tion with agricultural prospects, as a young bull is made
to go partly across the fire-pit before the other devotees,
and the owners of young cows which have had their
first calves during the year take precedence of others
in the ceremony, and bring offerings of milk, which are
sprinkled over the burning embers."

796 At the Sakalathi festival, in the month of October,
(824) Badagas, towards evening, throw on the roofs of their
houses flowers of *Plectranthus Wightii*, *Crotalaria obtecta*,
Lobelia nicotianæfolia, *Achyranthes aspera*, and *Leucas*
aspera. On the following day, they clean their houses,
and have a feast. In the afternoon, numbers of them
may be seen in the streets drawing in front of their
houses pictures in wood-ashes of buffaloes, bulls, cows,

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796 ploughs, stars, sun and moon, snakes, lizards, etc. They then go into their houses, and wash their hands. Taking up in his clean hands a big cake, on which are placed a little rice and butter, the Badaga puts on it three wicks steeped in castor oil, and lights them. The cake is then waved round the heads of all the children of the house taken to a field, and thrown therein with the words "Sakalathi has come." The cake-thrower returns home, and prostrates himself before a lamp placed in the inner room, and repeats a long formula, composed of the various synonyms of Siva.

(262) In the month of November, a festival called Dodda Habba (big feast) is celebrated. In the afternoon, rice is cooked in whey within the hāgōttu, and eaten on mīnige leaves. Throughout the day the villagers play at various ball games.

796 A festival, which is purely local, is celebrated near
•782 Konakore in honour of Mahangkāli. A buffalo is led to the side of a precipice, killed by a Kurumba with a spear,
793 and thrown over the edge thereof. There is a legend that, in olden days, a pūjāri used to put a stick in the crevice of a rock, and, on removing it, get the value of a buffalo in fanams (gold coins). But, on one occasion, he put the stick in a second time, in the hopes of gaining more money. No money, however, was forthcoming and, as a punishment for his greed, he died on the spot.

881 All Badaga villages, except those of the Udayas, have
(841) a hut, called holagudi, for the exclusive use of women
(349) during their monthly periods. A few months before a girl is expected to reach puberty, she is sent to the holagudi, on a Friday, four or five days before the new moon day. This is done lest, in the ordinary course of events, the first menstruation should commence on an inauspicious day. The girl remains in the holagudi one

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days. Nearly three thousand females, and six thousand males, assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamotis (spades). They came on dancing for some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the car. These Badagas belonged to a gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of the men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

A kind of edible truffle (*Mylitta lapidescens*) is known as little man's bread on the Nīlgiris. The Badaga legendary name for it is Pāndva-unna-buthi, or dwarf bundle of food,* *i.e.*, food of the dwarfs, who are supposed once to have inhabited the Nīlgiris and built the pāndu kūlis or kistvaens.

The story goes that Lord Elphinstone, a former Governor of Madras, was anxious to build a residence at Kaiti. But the Badagas, who had on the desired site a sacred tree, would not part with the land. The Governor's steward succeeded in making the Badaga headman drunk, and secured, for a rental of thirty-five rupees annually, the site, whereon a villa was built, which now belongs to the Basel Mission.†

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* Report, Government Botanic Gardens, Nilgiris, 1903.

† E. Schmidt. Reise nach Sudindien, 1894.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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unknown antiquity).[25] This is controlled by Irula priests—who, unlike most South Indian tribals, are Vaishnavites. The two monoliths inside the stone circles represent the god Ranga and his wife, to whom some of the local Badagas make a yearly offering of plantains, milk and coconuts:

> The hereditary pûjâri is an Irula, and on the day fixed by the Badagas for the annual feast, he arrives from his hamlet . . ., bathes in a pool below the summit, and marches to the top shouting 'Góvinda! Góvinda!' The cry is taken up . . . and the whole crowd, which includes Badagas, Irulas and Kurumbas, surrounds the enclosures while the Irula priest invokes the deities by blowing his conch and beating his drum, and pours oblations over, and decorates with flowers, the two stones which represent them. That night two stone basins on the summit are filled with ghee [clarified butter] and lighted, and the glare is visible for miles around. The ceremonies close with prayers for good rain and fruitfulness among the flocks and herds, a wild dance by the Irula, and the boiling . . . of much rice in milk. (Francis, 1908, 340; compare Ward, 1821, lxii; Breeks, 1873, 70; Macleane, 1893, 373).

While Badaga contact with the Irulas was less frequent than with other tribes, one of the major 'sanskritizing' influences in the Nilgiris was clearly constituted by the Irulas until the latter part of the last century. As Metz observed (1864, 133), 'They come up now and then . . . and divert the inhabitants with obscene theatrical performances representing passages in the life of Krishna, whom they call Govinda'. The Abbé Dubois (1906, 196) pointed out how in the early 1800s Rañgasa:mi Peak was a place of pilgrimage for Hindus from the plains, who 'have made it a *puñyasthala*, or place of virtue . . . As it is very difficult to reach the top of this mountain, a view of the summit alone . . . is considered sufficient to remove the burden of sin . . . .' Those stalwart pilgrims who did clamber up the peak could hardly have failed to influence local Badagas to some extent in pre-British times.

For such services as their Krishna dramas and occasional medical therapy Irulas used to get grain from the Badagas, a gift which was probably in the nature of a *douceur*, for Irulas were also considered sorcerers (though less powerful than the true Kurumba). Some Badagas living close to Irulas probably had a more

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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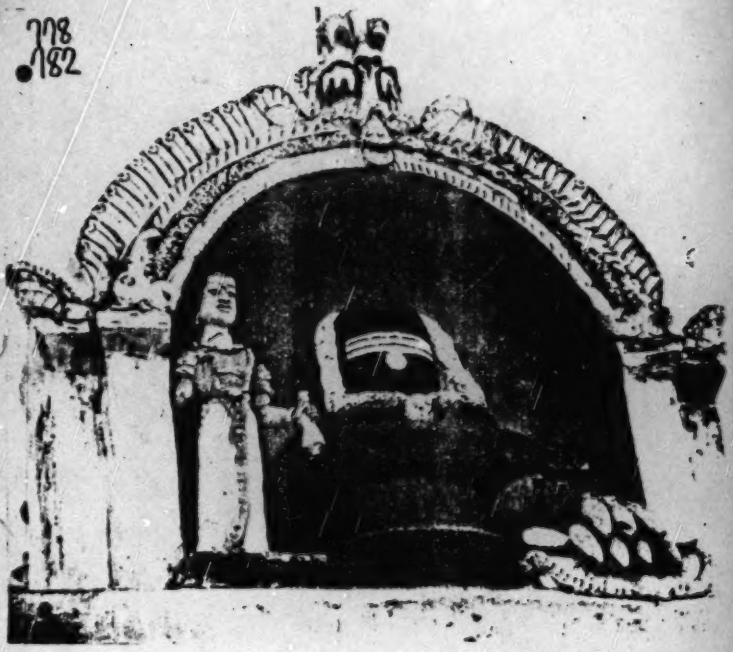

Pl. 11

[Following p. 248-K]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbaṭṭi), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:ṯe:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:tuḷy).

301 Plate 4 Pāda Rāja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

643

302 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranaṛi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

877

Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

302 759

Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

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Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

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764 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

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231 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:ṛkunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

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291 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:ṯe:ri.

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•782 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

[p. 25]

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3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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796 basket and goes to the bank of the stream, facing toward the sun. In one hand he holds a pot. The rest of the men do likewise, taking care to [242] stand downstream from the leader. Each has a handful of salt and a pot, and each wears a cotton shawl which leaves the entire right arm bare.

796 The leader (usually prompted in a whisper by some one else who knows it better) then pronounces the following prayer (pausing at the end of 782 each line, whereupon the rest of the party repeats the last word in lieu of saying the entire line over):

539 O Lord [Swami], we today celebrate things as our
fathers, grandfathers and forefathers have done.
782 Old is not new, and new is not old [i.e., old things
are not neglected, nor new things added].
796 Whatever we sow, may it grow more than ninefold.
Whichever female cattle conceive, may they give us
plenty of milk.
Whatever we put on the threshing ground, may it not be
wasted [i.e., may all the grain reach the store
without mishap].
O God, may the cow or young buffalo be impregnated by
the male just after getting its second teeth.
Just before getting its fourth teeth, may its calf walk.
May the house be filled with children, and may the pen
be filled with cattle.
Let everything be good. *Hau hau!*

The prayer is uttered in this fashion three times. At the end of the second recital the men shout "*hau hau*" twice, and at the end of the third they shout it at least three times, in expression of their happiness.

As the final words of this prayer are uttered, each man stoops beside the stream, still with his salt in one hand and pot in the other. He mixes the salt in the running water and catches some of this saline solution in the pot.

796 The leader then takes his pot of brine and pours it into the pit that he dug. The other men follow suit. Then all the cows and oxen, but not the 231 buffaloes, are driven to the pits to drink. When the animals have emptied a pit, more water is thrown in and further salt added without additional ceremony. Only after the cows and oxen wander away from these pits are the buffaloes finally allowed their drink of brine. A few of the men then refill their pots with water and pour it over the backs of the animals "to cool them."

796 When this phase of the proceedings is completed, each man fills his pot with water again and then sits down in the grass nearby. At this point 618 one or two Todas, who have been waiting for this moment, come forward and approach each Badaga in turn. The Badagas give most of the salt remaining in their baskets to these Toda friends.

796 After this, one of the Badagas goes to a dewberry bush and cuts off a 824 branch. This is regarded as a ritual, and is done with a small knife made by

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Great House precedes everyone else and afterwards announces for the benefit of others that he has completed his duty. Only after the water has been poured into his cattle pen may anyone go beyond the hamlet boundaries.

During the rest of the day, however, no one may do any outdoor work, not even something as trivial as picking up firewood. The permitted exceptions to this rule are that people may wash themselves and their clothes, and that the men may clean out their cattle sheds and prepare bedding for the cattle. Until recently a heavy fine was levied on anyone trying to do other kinds of work on this day.

This ceremony is generally considered by the Badagas to be one of the most important, or as some put it, "most sacred," in the entire calendar of festivals. That it should be so may seem surprising, in view of the unimportant role that cattle now play in the economy of this culture. We might expect that festivals celebrated at times of sowing or harvest would be the most significant for an agricultural community such as the Badagas. Yet the giving of salt is widely held to be quite as crucial as either the sowing or the harvest festival.

What, then, is it about giving salt to cattle that makes this event so essential to the festival calendar of this particular society? My answer would be that in the course of this ceremony a symbolic reference is made to all the roots of social stability and all the sources of the good life. Every society needs certain occasions when the bases of its organization and the ideals by which it lives are made visible to the members of that society. In this respect the Badagas are in no way unusual; the salt-giving is in fact a time when the whole community is busily engaged in acting out various roles which make the foundations of social life apparent to its members. Values which guide the community are thus paraded in the ceremony, a display which helps preserve them from doubt and obscurement.

A person's requirements for attaining the good life are summarized in the prayer which is spoken beside the stream. Here reference is made to maintaining long-established traditions, to having a plentiful harvest, to a superfluity of milk, and to the birth of many calves and children. The final line, "Let everything be good!" underlines the intent of the whole ceremony.

The Badagas themselves do everything possible on this occasion to ensure that things will in reality become "good" for them. They show due deference at every point to the living representative of their hamlet's founding family, who built the Great House and so started their community. They reward the Todas for their friendship and services. They pay brief respect to Ganga, the goddess who is represented in all streams and who controls rainfall. They pay respect to the sun, source of all light, by facing it before they stoop beside the stream. They show gratitude to the cattle, which are an important source of food and were formerly the indispensable laborers of every farmer. They ceremoniously gather specimens of two useful wild plants. Their route takes them to what have traditionally been the most sacred places in every Badaga hamlet: the Great House, the village green,

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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3.17. A basic problem of public health administration—to control the abundant fertility of Indian and other Asian populations—has never been taken for a problem by the Badaga community. Even though their population has increased from 2,207 in 1812 to 104,392 in 1971 their village leaders are only now beginning to perceive that such a staggering increase (4,730 per cent in 160 years) has to be curtailed. Sons were of course valued in a farming community in a frontier-like situation, and long after swidden agriculture had ceased and the amount of farmland stabilized people still thought in terms of having a number of sons for security. This entailed on the average having the same number of daughters. ("Even though you repeatedly tell her, she is only delivering girls," a proverb bemoans.) And as standards of public hygiene slowly increased so too did the excess of births over deaths. In various prayers Badagas still ask: "May the house be filled with children!" In contrast, however, one proverb acknowledges that, "The mother who has given birth to ten children [is almost like someone] dead from having fallen in the lake." Another traditional proverb counsels: "Rather than deliver ten pigs [i.e., unscrupulous children], deliver one [good child] Nandi." In the 600 households of my sample the average nuclear family had 3.7 children.

For Badagas then, the more important problem is infertility. Several lady therapists have built their reputations on their abilities to cure or at least to predict a woman's barrenness. In some marriages, as we have seen, the apparent infertility is an effect, in the Badaga's view, of the couple thinking about divorce and hence not satisfying each other through intercourse. "Treatment" for infertility will be discussed in more detail below (6.62).

The commonest solution for an infertile marriage is for the woman to bring her younger sister into the home as a second wife. Should the latter prove infertile too their natal family is considered accursed: the thought that the problem might lie with the husband does not arise. If the barren wife does not supply a substitute she is usually sent home to her parents. Her fate then, if she is lucky, will be to marry a widower who needs a woman's labour in the house but who already has his children (Jagor 1876: 200). Nowadays childless couples tend to follow the South Indian practice of visiting distant temples on pilgrimage, and promising to give the gods something when they have been blessed with a son.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Eyesight

732 BAD VISION

6.29. Badagas can test their eyesight with the help of the moon. On the night of the new moon or the one after that a man is asked if he can see a small line on the lower edge of the moon while it is low in the sky. If he cannot see this, his sight is defective. He must then take a leaf of the castor-oil plant or "some other jungle plant," and keep it on the top of his head for a month, after which he is tested again. "This cure has been known to work sometimes," I am told.

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6.30. When insects and other small objects get into the eye, somebody blows on a piece of cloth—such as the corner of a loincloth — and when it is warm he wipes the surface of the sufferer's eye with it.

732 BLINDNESS (*kurudu*)

6.31. Badagas have no cure for blindness, and if the sight is defective glasses are nowadays the only normal remedy. One can even find ready-made glasses of varying prescriptions in the bazaars. It is generally believed that if one prays to the sun at sunrise while looking into it, vision will remain good. The deaf and the blind cannot enjoy life, as one proverb maintains: "For a man without ears, what use is a musical instrument? For a man without eyes, what use is the countryside?"

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164 757 TRACHOMA OR CONJUNCTIVITIS (*keppu kaṇṇu*)

6.32. If the eye turns red, it is because there is too much "heat" in the body: this can be lessened by extra sleep and a change of diet. The patient should also bathe two or three times daily, using the bark of pellitory as soap: it is "cooling" to the eye and the brain, and so brings health.

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6.33. If there is a pain behind the eye, the patient lies on his back with eyes wide open. The best cure is then to squirt five to ten shots of milk directly from a buffalo's teat into his eye: failing buffalo's milk, cow's milk can be administered in the same way. (Only very gentle cattle can be trusted not to step on the patient.) A simpler but less effective treatment is for a woman to squirt five to ten shots

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fully with the partner. Some non-vegetarians do make a medicine for infertility from the eye of the crow-pheasant (*Centropus sinensis parroti*).

6.63. Badagas rarely offer *pu:ja* at a local temple nowadays in order to obtain children, but in the last century they often did so. Worship of the phallic *linga* symbol associated with Siva was considered very efficacious, particularly in those rare cases where it happened to be a prehistoric axe-head that had "miraculously appeared" in a field during ploughing. The Badaga ancestress deity Hette was also commonly resorted to for the same reason (Jagor 1876 : 199-200). Today it is usual for a couple with no children to make a pilgrimage to some important temple in the South Indian plains, where they make oaths to various gods, promising them goats, coconuts or idol ornaments once they have satisfied the supplicants' need for a child. It is no light matter for a man in an undivided joint family to take such an oath, because of the rules that it entails: in order to fulfil his promise after the birth of a child, the man must consult his family as to when that can be done. The problem is that (*a*) these oaths are normally fulfilled after a birth, but only on a festival day if they were taken in a *Badaga* temple: (*b*) they must not be fulfilled while *any* woman in the joint family is pregnant ; and yet (*c*) they must be fulfiled within twelve years of the requested birth. If this last rule is disregarded the offended god may visit another misfortune on the family; and so, even in a nuclear family, a man will try to discharge his obligation to the deity well before the twelve years following the birth, just in case his wife should happen to be pregnant again during the festivals of that final year. A further rule (*d*) is that if a man has promised the hair of his child to a deity, and if he waits for several years to make good his promise, then he must at the same time

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offer up the hair of all subsequent children that may have been born to him in the interim.

6.64. Early in the nineteenth century the Abbé J. A. Dubois, understandably aghast at what he had learnt, noted that women yearning for children prostituted themselves to anyone at temple festivals in the plains near the foot of the Nilgiri Hills. "Barren women, in the hope that they will cease to be so, visit them after binding themselves by a vow to grant their favours to a fixed number of libertines" (Dubois 1906 : 596). He also wrote about the temple at Nanjangud, near Mysore, which is in the centre of the Badagas' ancient homeland and is still much visited by them:

> Offerings and prayers are not the only ceremonies which have to be gone through. On leaving the temple the woman, accompanied by her husband, has to go to a place where all the pilgrims are accustomed to resort to answer the calls of nature. There the husband and the wife collect with their hands a certain quantity of ordure and form it into a small pyramid, which they are careful to mark with a sign that will enable them to recognize it. Then they go to the neighbouring tank and mix in the hollow of their hands the filth which has soiled their fingers. (But I will spare my readers the rest.) After having performed their ablutions they retire. Two or three days afterwards they visit their pyramid, and, still using their hands, turn the filthy mass over and over and examine it as carefully and as seriously as the Roman augurs scrutinized the entrails of sacrificed animals, in order to see if any insects have been engendered in it. In this case it would be a very good omen, showing that the woman would soon be pregnant. But if, after careful search, not even the smallest insect is visible, the poor couple,

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sad and discouraged, return home in the full conviction that the expenses they have been put to and the pains they have taken have been of no avail. (Dubois 1906 : 594-95)

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More recently it has also been reported that sterile women attended the popular festival of the goddess Ma:riamma at Ka:ramaḍai, near the eastern foot of the Nilgiris in Coimbatore District, to have intercourse with religious mendicants there in the hope of getting children. Such unpleasant procedures, resorted to by Badaga, Tamilian and Kanarese pilgrims alike, have long since ceased to occur, but childless couples still make vows at the Ka:ramaḍai festival "Miles" : (1933 267).

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URETHRITIS (*sege*) 164 757

6.65. A liquid medicine (details unrecorded) otherwise given to newly delivered mothers (cf. 4.11) is administered to a person who cannot urinate. This condition and the associated swollen bladder, caused by excess of "heat" in the body, are relieved by the medicine.

Fevers

FEVER (*jara*)

6.66. The Badagas like the English have a saying, "If you are suffering from a cold, take extra food; if suffering from a fever, take little food." There are different kinds of fever, and they can affect people of all ages, but one medicine can be taken for all kinds. The shoots and smaller leaves of the velvety patchouli and related species (*koḍangu*) are ground up and the juice from them mixed with some salt. This is swallowed, and is said to be more effective than quinine. In the early nineteeth century opium was used as a prophylactic against fever (Price 1908: 224).

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6.67. The Kurumbas knew of a now-forgotten twig or root which, when smelled fresh, dispelled fever. The present medicine of the Badagas makes use instead of the nest of the red-headed fantail warbler

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have been found a therapist takes cold water fresh from the spring, and adds to it three pieces of Bermuda grass and three dead-nettle flowers. This water along with its contents is sprinkled thrice over the child's head and nude body. The procedure is repeated on the fifth, seventh and ninth days after the spots were noticed, but using the same number of pieces of grass and of dead-nettle as there have been days since the apparent onset of the illness. By the ninth day the child usually feels better, but "in one case out of ten" this same procedure has to be followed for the final time on the eleventh day, using 11 flowers and 11 pieces of grass.

After the final treatment the child's body is washed for the first time since the infection was recognized. The bath-water needs to be at body temperature, but if it turns out to be too hot the parent must wait for it to cool and may not on this occasion add cold water to cool it. To this particular bath some turmeric and a nim leaf are added. When the water is ready it is poured over the child's head and body, but the parents do not rub him, wash him with soap, or even touch him. He is not dried with a towel, but made to sit in the house covered with a cloth while incense, turmeric and the dry outer skins of garlic and red onion are burnt together under the cloth. The child sits in this smoke for a minute or two, and only after doing so can he use woollen clothes again.

VARIOLA (*doḍḍamma*)

7.3. Probably no epidemic disease has been commoner or more feared among the Badagas than smallpox (Ouchterlony 1868: 65). In response to it they have developed a method of quarantine that certainly does much to restrict its spread.

The disease is caused by a visitation of the goddess Mariamma. To prevent her coming most Badaga villages celebrate an annual festival in her honour. At one well-known such festival at the temple site of Bokkapu:r chickens, goats and sheep

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753 were sacrificed by beheading directly in front of the
776 Ma:riamma temple. Two features of this ceremony
796 are of interest: one is that the soil was ploughed
782 at that point so that the blood of the victims flowed into the earth; the other is that a curtain was drawn in front of the image of Ma:riamma while the beheadings took place, lest the sight of all the blood should so arouse her thirst that she would go on the rampage through some villages, seeking the death of her human victims. A few years ago the animal sacrifices ceased. The symbolism suggests that Ma:riamma is a type of Hindu earth mother concerned as much with the fertility of the soil as with the control of disease: its control is obviously linked to the conservation of agricultural labour, from an ecological viewpoint.

753 If a person gets smallpox it means that he has
755 done something impure. For this reason a thera-
776 pist must pray to Ma:riamma for forgiveness of the patient's sins. The goddess is thereby pleased, not offended, if the patient recovers; yet if she is very angry she may still cause further deaths.

751 For a very long time the Badagas have relied on
177 inoculations against smallpox. Probably the first
[797] person to administer these was the German missionary G.H. Weigle, who in 1846 vaccinated about 700 Badagas, "as a result of which a whole village gave him false names, for fear of magic" (Basel Mission 1846: 48-49; Eppler 1900: 79). This represented a remarkable change of attitude, for the situation up to that time was that, "...many refuse to take any remedies themselves, or to allow any to be administered to their relations, and thence arises their antipathy to vaccination. The
751 supposition is not as to the nature or inefficiency
776 of the means, but it is the fear of offending the
796 goddess..."(Harkness 1832: 117, note). There is
784 some evidence that the large-scale festivities in honour of Ma:riamma were adopted by the Badagas only towards the middle of the nineteenth century,

757 medicine could help, especially if administered in a hot climate, but it would not effect a complete cure.

757 The complexity of this cure arises from the large number of plant species that have to be collected.
759 Most crucial and first to be gathered by the therapist is a piece of grey bark a centimeter thick removed from inside the fork of the Indian kino tree, which grows at the low elevation of about 3,000 ft. near Burliya:r village. The tree generally has only one main stem, but the bark will be more effective if it is taken from a forked tree, and better still if from a three-stemmed tree. Although it is difficult to find this tree it is essential that the therapist get the bark himself. Were some other person to go and get it he would have to perform the rest of the treatment too. The therapist leaves his home around five in the morning as a ritual precaution, because he does not want to meet anyone lest he be asked, "Where are you going? What for?" Such questions would be most inauspicious until he has passed the boundary of his hamlet. Until that point he must be on foot, but thereafter he can use any kind of public transportation.

Having located the tree the therapist first takes a leaf from it and puts it under the tree with a four-anna coin donation on top; this has been given him by the patient. Then he prays to the tree and to the
• [782] god, asking that the man be cured. In this prayer he must be sure to mention the man by his original name and not by any nickname. Then the therapist cuts some of the bark off with a small knife and puts it in his bag—or formerly in the pocket of his cloak. This he can do at any time before noon. After finishing he takes the coin for himself and also puts some leaves from the same tree into his bag. One such collection of bark suffices for the entire cure of one patient. However, although it is a big trip to get the bark, the therapist cannot bring more than he now needs, as any excess would be useless for any other patient. This is because a later patient's name

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is mainly over the head and back, the second over the head and front, the third and fourth over the head and either side of the body. This thick tent-like covering is made airtight by gathering the bottom of all the rugs closely around the patient's feet. He squats with his face towards the east; and when too incapacitated by paralysis to squat on his haunches he may be given a small wooden stool.

The therapist then lifts the hot pot off the fire, holding it in some cloths. He goes to the lamp with it and says: "O Gods, if this Rangan (or whatever his name is) has done any wrong or any sins, he has presented five four-anna coins as a fine. Please kindly cure him of this illness." He continues holding the pot, without putting it on the floor, as he prays. It is then taken over to the patient, the lid removed, and the rugs at the front of the patient are opened. The pot is put between the patient's legs. He is only wearing his breech-clout; but the therapist tells him to remove that too when he is fully covered. The rugs are closed up tight and the patient breathes and bathes in the vapour for 10 to 15 minutes. This is the most important part of the cure, and the pot must remain under the blankets even though the patient complains of his discomfort. Every few minutes the therapist puts his hand in to feel the patient and pulls it out covered with sweat. Only when the sweat flows off his hand in heavy drips will the cure stop. The blankets are then taken off the patient, who is dripping with sweat and dead tired. He replaces his breach-clout.

Two or three plates are then put on the floor, with a piece of clean cotton cloth over each one. Then using a spoon the therapist scoops some of the solid material out of the pot and puts it on each cloth. He squeezes each cloth to remove the liquid, which he catches in the plate and then pours back into the pot. Then he puts a single thickness of new cotton cloth over the patient's

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watery medicine over the patient's body. He does not rub the body, but allows the patient to sit by the fire and dry.

It will be recalled that the therapist brought strips of bark from the Indian willow, which were not mixed into the medicine. After completing the treatment the therapist puts one of these long strips around the patient's neck, and two more—one above the elbow and one at the ankle—on the side of the body which is partially paralyzed. These strips are knotted very loosely: for it is permissible for them to fall off, provided they do so of their own accord and not because someone takes them off.

When his tongue cannot move it is because the Big Wind struck him there. The compress is then dabbed all over the body in the usual manner, but a liquid medicine is given the patient too (unless the dabbing of his body loosens his tongue). This medicine is the juice of the St. John's wort. It is obtained by slashing the bark and waiting a day or two for the juice to exude. It is then drunk diluted with a little hot water.

It is now alright for the patient to have coffee if he wants it. Then he lies down and is covered with several rugs. He is only wearing a loin-cloth, except that in a very serious case he will still be wearing the wet cloth on which the medicine has been dabbed.

The patient then sleeps. In the early morning the therapist orders the people present to clean the house and sprinkle liquid cowdung on the floor before the door is opened. Just before the cleaning starts he takes the pot of medicine upstairs and leaves it there. No women or children should go upstairs while it is there. After the purification of the house the therapist opens the door and goes out onto the yard to pray. Only after he has returned to the house are other members of the family allowed to go outside too. Before they

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or ear-rings, then her husband will die. If anyone dreams of a male buffalo, there will soon be a death in the village, probably among the dreamer's relatives (since Ya:ma, the Hindu god of death, comes riding on a buffalo). If one dreams of a woman approaching in a red *sa:ri*, this means a contagious disease will soon affect his house, his relatives or his village, usually through the disease-bearing goddess. Sometimes a person dreams of a woman in a red *sa:ri* leaving the village where there is an epidemic: this means the infection will now end.

Causation of Disease

10.17. The Badagas neither recognize any particular god as responsible for creating or curing all diseases, nor consider any one single health factor to cause all illness. As we have already seen, only a few of the diseases that Badagas cure are known by them to have a specific cause. Nevertheless we will briefly review here the variety of causes that therapists can cite.

(*a*) There are five diseases that are visited upon people by a goddess : these we have treated in detail above (7.1-7.6). A similar kind of causation was recognized for "Big Wind," where a bad spirit or deity was believed to have flicked a corner of its invisible clothing against the patient's body. Infertility in a woman is ultimately the will of God, although its immediate cause may in some instances be the failure of the couple to love each other sufficiently. Aside from these instances, however, the Badagas do not consider other chronic illnesses or bodily deformities to be inflicted by the gods : they are rather viewed as the effect of unknown sins committed by the victims themselves in previous incarnations. The will of a god and the effect of one's own or one's ancestors' sins cannot altogether be separated, however. If a person gets smallpox, for example, it means that he has done something impure; and in curing him the therapist must pray to Ma:riamma, the smallpox goddess, to forgive the patient's sins. In this way the curing process pleases the goddess and she may therefore oblige by doing what is required of her.

(*b*) Mental illness is caused by a bad spirit or bad ghost getting into the body. It is believed, on the other hand, that a person can become strong and healthy if a good ghost enters him, for it will help his body to grow.

776 Badagas and all other Śaivites, as the supreme god. As is common in village
779 Hinduism, he is worshipped in a variety of forms, each of which may appear outwardly to be a distinct deity. The most widely encountered of these in the Nilgiris are the bull, Nandi, and the members of Śiva's family, his wife Pārvati and his sons Ganeśa and Subramaniam. Badagas also worship the disease-bringing goddesses,
776 Mari and her three sisters, all of whom are aspects of Pārvati. There are a few
778 (mostly recent) temples to Viśnu, who is called Ranganātan, and who, together with
779 Brahmā, is considered to be an inferior aspect of Śiva. Śiva is commonly represented in the temples of all Badagas, and not only among the Lingayats, by a stone in the lingam shape. This is supposed to symbolize the form of the universe. Each hamlet usually has a temple dedicated to at least one of these gods.

[773] The second category of deities is that of the distinctively Badaga gods, who seem originally -- to judge from the stories told about them -- to have been the ancestors of the Badagas themselves. There are two important ones: Hiriodeya, an old man, and Hetthe, an old woman usually thought of as his wife (Harkness 1832: 110; Francis 1908: 316). Many hamlets have temples for one or both of them, and seem to regard them in each place as ancestors of the particular hamlet rather than of all Badagas. Unlike the other gods, they are depicted on temples in the distinctive Badaga dress.

The third category covers the gods of nature. These include such phenomena as sun, moon, wind, water and earth. They are not objects of protracted
776 worship. There are no temples to the gods of nature; only certain patterns of res-
779 pect. Thus, when a man gets up in the morning he salutes the sun as he says a
•782 brief prayer relating to his own well-being. When a man has to cross a stream with a horse, he should not insult the water by riding straight through it but should

776 dismount. He should not urinate in a stream, either; nor should he stand up while
779 urinating on the earth, for this shows disrespect to the earth goddess. He should
782 always squat down to urinate or defecate, and for fear of disrespect the buttocks
(514) should not be directed toward the sun at this time. But apart from such minor regulations for personal conduct the gods of nature receive little attention, except when the water-goddess has not brought rain in time. Then the villagers will say prayers and make offerings at one of their temples in an attempt to get the favor of a rainfall.

775 The fourth category of supernatural beings is the ghost. This is the wan-
779 dering spirit of a person who chanced to die before he was destined to, and it frequently gets inside a living person to find warmth and food. The malicious
(789) ghosts can cause a lot of trouble, but there is no use in worshipping them. When a ghost becomes bothersome it is exorcised by a man noted for this art, who gives it whatever material requirements it may (through the mouth of the possessed person) demand. Ghosts cannot usually act as intermediaries between men and gods; but there is a special category who become angels. These are dead people who have done good during their lives, but who for some reason want to return to this
(828) world rather than be merged with god. While they are waiting to be reborn to a
(787) higher social status they act as the messengers of god, and come to people in their dreams to warn them of impending disasters.

776 The fifth category of supernatural beings is the demon, who is periodically
779 propitiated with a blood sacrifice or some liquor. This is a being who is incapable
782 of doing good, but may do harm if he chooses. He is thought capable of killing people that he meets at night, and of obstructing various projects. There are no temples to the demon, but there are recognized places in the fields where offerings are left for him, just as there are recognized places for leaving things that

776 a ghost asks for.

779 The sixth category of supernatural beings, a group to whom private

•[782] prayers are often directed in the home, are the great national heroes. These are primarily Mr. Nehru, the late Prime Minister, Subhas Chandra Bose, the Bengali patriot, and above all Mahatma Gandhi. People disagree about the nature of their great power over men; but many Badagas certainly regard them as enlightened saints. Nehru seems to symbolize political power, Bose military power, and Gandhi spiritual power.

Hindu saints are really the seventh category of supernatural beings. Saints,
776 prophets and spiritual leaders, like the national heroes, are worshipped in the home.
778 A small room at one end of the veranda contains framed lithographic prints of such
779 beings, and here the men of the household — and sometimes the women — will
782 address their prayers to the depicted pantheon. The collection of framed household deities regularly includes such beings as Śiva and his family, saints like Sai Baba, Swami Vivekananda, Buddha and Jesus Christ (Ranga 1934: 63), political leaders like Nehru, Gandhi, S.C. Bose and K. Kamaraj (then President of the Congress Party), and a portrait of the most recently deceased head of the family. Jesus and Mary are widely respected powers: Badagas who live near to a church sometimes make contributions to the Christians' poor fund at Christmas, and it is not uncommon to see Śaivites present at the Christmas-Eve service in the Protestant church, and at the Easter procession of the Catholic church. One Lingayat man has pictures only of Jesus and the Madonna in his house, and does a daily meditation before them.

Every hamlet feels that to have any prestige in the eyes of others it must
368 at least boast a temple structure for its god or gods. Even so, there are many
778 deities that are embodied only in a rough stone object standing under a tree or

are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 148-49).

2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

177 For the past 40 years Dipāvali, and for the past 20 Kārtige, have been
796 celebrated in many Badaga hamlets. Both are annual festivals adopted from the culture of the Tamilnād plains. Dassara, which has always been the biggest annual celebration in Mysore City, has also been celebrated by Badagas for the past 25 years. All of these festivals are celebrated in a very attenuated form in the Badaga hamlets.
796 Dipāvali, the day on which Kriśna destroyed the demon Narakasura, is given little importance by the Badagas, for they perform no rituals at this time. A minority of the people wear new dresses on this date; but otherwise they do not perform so much as a puja in Kriśna's honor. Kārtige extends over two days in November or December, but only the first of these, dedicated to Śiva, assumes any importance. All the houses carry lights on that day and throughout the following night; but on the second day, dedicated to Viśnu, very few lights remain burning. During the first evening the village priest does a puja in the temple, and most of the villagers attend this ceremony. Dassara, like Kārtige and Dipāvali, is celebrated on a small scale when compared with the main indigenous Badaga festivals (at sowing and harvest-time)
●(782) (cf. Karl 1945: 12-20). Although Dassara is universally supposed to last for ten days, it is only on the evening of the ninth that the Badagas do any kind of celebration and this is a simple puja done to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in the houses. Some Badagas do an additional puja on this occasion to bring blessings upon agricultural implements, and even on school books.

Kārtige is followed by the month of Mārgaṭi (December to January), which
177 is the most inauspicious month in the Dravidian calendar. During the past 30 or 40
788 years, therefore, some Badagas have adopted the Tamilian practice of doing a puja
788 every day of that month. Early each morning a group of men goes along every street
(956) of their hamlet singing bhajan songs about the gods Śiva and Viśnu. Before the daily

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva

433 (648) employing Kasuvas and exploiting the grazing potentials offered by tropical savanna woodlands, bamboo thickets, thorny thickets, and related savannas of the Mysore Ditch.

234 778 (776) (782) (946) The Bergani dairy-temple center. A sacred buffalo herd is maintained at the Bergani dairy-temple center honoring the goddess Masthi Mothai. At the center there is a building with an inner dairy-temple, priest's quarters, and rooms to shelter buffalo calves (Plate III, A). Several buffalo-pens stand close by. Down slope there is another building where pilgrims may sleep. Inside it is a sacred

778 (782) (793) (788) room where an employed Chetti annually weaves new clothing for the goddess's image and the attendant priest. Food for hundreds of pilgrims who attend an annual festival is cooked in a nearby shed with aligned fireplaces.

234 778 (431) (648) Features inside the dairy-temple are identically related to the arrangement of features within Badaga row temples described in a later chapter. The dairy-temple center and a herd of over 70 buffaloes are supported through monetary gifts and buffaloes donated by devotees. Todas sometimes give buffaloes. Most gift buffaloes are garlanded and presented to the priest during a week preceding the festival honoring the goddess. The young priest, who may serve for a year or more, looks

234 778 793 after the sacred buffaloes and processes their milk inside the dairy-temple. He never returns to secular life during his term in office, and must give up the priesthood on Masthi Mothai's Monday if he starts dreaming about girls or wishes to get married. The youth milks sacred buffaloes in the morning and evening, takes buffaloes to and from

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

the morning. Profusely the white fluid is poured till the whole rivulet is nothing but a stream of milk. After the *Liṅgas* are thus washed the boys give them to the priest, who places them in his left palm and, covering them with his right, utters, with all the solemnity due to the occasion, the following incantation, while the boys and the whole village assembled there listen to it with the most profound respect and veneration.

"Śiva Hara O! Basava
Pañchaṅgiri Adhipati
Âr sâvara kîrttige mûru
sâvara anda lakshe
tompattâru sâvara gana—
guluko Nichyaptâya Nîr
koḍuva Nîlammatâya
Śiva Liṅgavê guru pâda
Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva."

meaning:—O Śiva, Hara, Basava (different names of Śiva) the lord of all the six thousand and three thousand names and glories, the lord of one *lakh* and ninety-six thousand *ganas* (body-guards of Śiva), the donor of water, the daily-to-be-worshipped, the husband of Pârvati. O Lord, O Śiva Liṅga, thy feet alone are our resort, O Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva, Śiva.

While pronouncing this prayer the priest now and then removes his right palm, and pours water and milk round the sacred fire and over the *Liṅgas* resting in his left palm. The priest then places each of the *Liṅgas* in a cloth of one cubit square, rolls it up and requests the boys to hold out their right palms. The young Badaga receives it, repeats the prayer given above five times, and during each repetition the palm holding the *Liṅga* tied up in the cloth is carried nearer and nearer to his neck. When that is reached (and it is reached on the fifth utterance of the incantation) the priest ties up the ends of the rolled up cloth containing the Śiva emblem loosely round the boy's neck; while the latter is all the while kneeling down holding by both of his hands the feet of the priest. After the *Liṅga* has been tied the priest blesses him thus,

"*Ondu sâvara hâgi ennu dina Śivaliṅgattê kâpaḍi hâlu kuḷa ûṭamâḍi kuḍi hechchi muḍi hechchi bayil hechchi payil hechchi sâvara kâla badukappa baduku,*"

meaning:—May one become one thousand to you; may you ever preserve in you the *Śivaliṅga*, and if you do so you will have plenty of milk and food, and you will prosper for one thousand years in name and fame, kine and corn.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

764 burning the dead. A calf is then given as a present to some of the agnatic kindred and the calf-given is male or a female, according (431) as the person that is dead is a man or a woman. Then the corpse is carried on to the ground where it is to be buried or cremated. On the way the following recitation of sins of the dead is made with 539 prayer that they may be all excused. This almost amounts to the 782 *Sarvaprâyaśchitta* of the Hindus, which however is performed when 764 the person is in his last stage and before his death, or the confession of the Roman Catholic Christians. The name of the dead party comes first; the sins are enumerated and pardon requested. Many enumerations are made according to the cleverness of the people 539 assembled. One such enumeration of the sins which are considered the most important is given below:—

Śevani śettadu śâvu
Bannige danakaru Jennige
Teru Tirupadi onduge
Martiyalôgadandu
Mahâlôgaga payaṇa
Ivarê hetta hettappa mâḍiyadu
Ivare avvappa mâḍiyadu
Ivariddu mâḍiyadu
Sarvannûrû pâpa haṭṭaliyu
Basavanapâda sêdu hôgali
Aritamaga anna koḍadadu
Beratamaga bekki koḍaḍadu
Târi toriyanda maga kûḍa toriyadu
Anna tammana agala mâḍiyadu
Tiṭṭa tivara ottiyadu
Urida kichchaga uchchu hoydadu
Sarvannûrupapa haṭṭaliyu
Chinnada kambuga chêdu
Beḷḷiya kambuga oradu
Karaṇadu manê kaḍa muchchali
Darmada manega dâri buḍali
Hûna bê muchchali
Milopâla bigêli
Saggada kadi tareli
Savundara nireli
Andu koṭṭa Birumanapâda hiḍidu
Indu puṭṭu Basavanapâdu hiḍidu
Śiva śandânaga ênili Chorus *Hâgê,*

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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778 787 (513) 764 quit the family. Thus a Badaga will never sleep with a light in his house, but before he goes to bed worships it and then carefully extinguishes it. A grand feast is given that night by the agnatic kindred or by a son of the dead person to which all come to eat. Both in the river and in the house the *Linga* is worshipped by the Badagas if they are of the Lingayat class.

The feast closes the first day's funeral rite of the Badagas. The second day's ceremony is a simple affair. It is what is called the pouring of the milk over the grave. On the morning of the second day the eldest mourner of the family starts to the burial place with five measures of the *Korali* grain tied up in his cloth and a big new pot containing milk.

Worship is performed to the stone placed in the middle of the grave and the milk from the new pot is poured over it. The son pours it first and then the others follow him in turn. Each of those assembled there then takes up a handful of the *Korali* grain and pronouncing the words *Avvappana keru*—'Mix yourself with your forefathers'—they cast it over the middle stone all at once. All then march round from south to north and touch the five (302) stones. They then proceed to the river, where, after having been shaved—even their moustaches are removed as an indication of their deep mourning,—they all bathe. They then worship the *Linga* there and return home where the same act of worship is again performed, and this brings to a conclusion the ceremonies of the second day.

The third day is a very important day and the funeral rites of the dead may be said to close with it. At 1 A.M. on that day four plantain leaves, four measures of rice, four measures of bean-seed and four new pots are made ready in the dead man's house. All (415) gather there round a *Kerachi*—a bronze pan used for frying grain, &c. Paddy is poured into this *Kerachi* by the agnatic kindred and by a son of the dead person, while five females, the wife not joining, stir it up with reaping hooks. The *Kerachi* is already placed upon a lighted fire; and while the paddy is thus being turned up the wife mourns outside with loud wailings. A handful of straw from the outside thatch of the house is brought in and lighted up in the hall —*edirmane*. The four new pots, four plantain leaves, &c., are (782) passed over it. Five or three youngsters hold the pots, while the (539) elders utter the following prayer:—

Hâl hechchali hap hechchali
Kudi hechchali payil hechchali,

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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'May milk increase, money increase, offspring increase, and harvest increase'. The pots are then passed over the fire and thereafter taken to the river. Fresh water is fetched; the paddy is husked and the rice is cooked with salt and plantains without milk. The cooked food is now placed on the four plantain leaves. All bathe as soon as the cocks are heard crowing, worship the *Liṅga* or light, as the case may be, and deposit the food spread on the plantain leaves in the *Hâgôṭu*—milk room. All the people assembled stand outside. The eldest member of the village asks the question whether all are in attendance for the occasion—*Ellâru banddiddârâ*. 'Yes' is the reply, when the following prayer is uttered :—

Endunâ dinadu
Nanga muttavar naṭaku
Bettavar naṭaku
Nanga Naṭadanu
Hostu haṭadallu
Haṭadu hostallu,
Tulai hotta gaṇdilla
Mola hotta henṇillâ.
Jâtiki śêrili.
Janaka śêrili kulakke śêrili
Kôvi

which may be freely translated thus:—'We have acted now as our forefathers and the forefathers of those forefathers acted. Neither new nor old rites have we performed now; but only those which were observed from time immemorial. No man or woman lives for ever. May this individual mingle then with his creed and clan and may he live happy in the other world'. All utter this. Then the eldest member eats a handful of rice and the others also do the same in their turn. This eating is called the eating of the *Hiṇḍiya kâṭu*—the tasting of the funeral rice and is considered a great sign of attachment and caste union. He who does not partake of this rice is neither a good friend nor a relation, which fact has been crystallized into a proverb :—

Hiṇḍiya kâṭu timbuvavanô
Setta kula ettuvavana nî endu adhiyu.

'What are you, you fool? Are you one who has partaken of the funeral rice with me, or one who has with me accompanied the dead body!' This is said of one who, without showing in these practical ways the attachment that should exist between relations, pretends